

Unite To Defend Civil Liberties And Democratic Rights

Historically speaking it is true that in the early period of capitalism, that is to say, in the period of free competition the rising bourgeoisie was the standard-bearer of Liberty-Equality-Fraternity which crystallised the then bourgeois humanist values and the concept of inalienable human rights flowing from them. But it is equally true that the historic experience of our time is that the same very bourgeoisie as the ruling and privileged class in all the bourgeois countries, in this period of crisis-ridden monopoly capitalism or moribund capitalism is not only trampling under foot freedom, liberties and democratic rights of the people but also is standing as the stumbling block to social advancement and human progress.

The historic task of keeping high the banner of democratic rights, freedom and liberties also waging a consistent battle for their further extension devolves on the most advanced class of the present-day society—the proletariat and more specifically on its leader the real party of the proletariat rests the most solemn responsibility of uniting all those who stand for democratic values and rights to defend and guard this broadest possible unity of democratic forces, to educate the masses about this supreme need of the hour, to lead and handle the struggle with the avowed object of advancing the cause of people's emancipation which in this epoch can find its logical culmination only in the establishment of real socialist society free from capitalist exploitation.

Decay of Bourgeois Parliamentary Democratic Institutions, Values and Freedoms in The Moribund Stage of Capitalism

In the history of social development, the concept of Civil liberty and fundamental democratic rights of the people in the society which substituted the 'rule of law' for rule of an individual is associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution which set for its goal and object, the establishment of a sovereign national democratic state—be it achieved through struggles against the Church and feudal autocracy as was the case in Europe or through national movement against the-imperialist rule in the erstwhile colonial countries like ours.

The bourgeoisie, in this period of competitive capitalism, stood for democratic values, norms and fundamental democratic rights and liberties of the people. These rights and liberties were then necessary for the growth and development of monopoly capitalism. To put it in the language of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh:

"..... bourgeois parliamentary political institutions emerged as a political superstructure on the basis of competitive capitalism. The bourgeoisie was then more attached to liberty and individual freedom. But in the period of intensification of general crisis of capitalism, finance capital and imperialism, the bourgeoisie is becoming more and more, less attached to individual freedom and liberty, and increasingly becoming more attached to militarism and bureaucracy. Parliament, even to the bourgeoisie, is fast losing its utility. Fascism is manifesting itself in diverse forms more markedly than before in state structure and administrative set up of all capitalist countries—developed or backward". So, bourgeois parliamentary institutions and democratic rights of the people are being viewed by the bourgeoisie now in power as of help to the oppressed classes in so far as they provide them the opportunity to organise and develop the democratic movements against the mounting onslaughts of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie. This is particularly true since the general crisis of world capitalism entered into the third phase of intense crisis which is over all crisis,

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Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

VOL. 10
No. 8

1st JANUARY '77
SATURDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

Country Recalls The Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

[In our earlier issues, we have given coverage to some of the memorial meetings held in different states. In the present issue we cover the news of only one memorial meeting held at Dhanbad, Bihar—Ed. Proletarian Era.]

On 31st October last, a meeting was held here under the auspices of the Dhanbad District Committee of the SUCI, to offer revolutionary homage to the memory of our beloved leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The meeting, which was attended by workers, peasants and all sections of the masses, was presided over by Comrade Hem Chakraborty, Secretary, Dhanbad District Committee of the SUCI. Comrade Nihar Mukerjee, General Secretary of our Party was present as the main speaker. Comrade Prithvi Chandra, a member of the Central Committee of our party, was also present at the memorial meeting.

In his speech Comrade Nihar Mukherjee offered his revolutionary homage to the memory of the great leader and said that at a very tender age Comrade Shibdas Ghosh joined the struggle for our country's emancipation. Neither the tears of his parents, nor the idea of a bright, personal career, could dissuade him from his great purpose. While in prison during the '42 movement the idea struck him that it was because of the absence of a genuine revolutionary party in the struggle against British imperialism, that the fruits of all sacrifices could be usurped by the national bourgeoisie. Hence independence was achieved, but not people's emancipation from oppression. It was this realisation that ultimately inspired him to build up a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat along with a handful of revolutionary compatriots. And as the product of that revolutionary struggle was born the SUCI—the only genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat on the Indian soil.

The struggle and search for attaining truth assumed a pivotal position in his life. He practised uncompromisingly in his life whatever he realised as true, on the basis of science and reason. Adversities and obstacles had only one effect on him—that was to strengthen his determination and intensify his struggle for the realisation of his objective.

It was Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who, for the first time in our country, upheld that the noble ideology of communism stands on a higher and loftier cultural and ethical foundation. It was he who taught us that every fighter engaged in revolutionary struggles, must begin with elevating his ethical and cultural standard. He must change his object and outlook of life if he is to become instrumental in bringing about a revolutionary transformation of the society, as Marx said, "To change the world, the working class must change themselves first." Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that we can achieve the higher ethical and cultural standard of the proletariat only when we have been able to exhaust the most developed ideas and cultural standard of the past. He further said "Politics demands higher emotional faculty. Much higher and nobler is demanded in revolutionary politics." To him, the only form of existence worth its name, was existence as a revolutionary. And having attained the lofty standard of communist character of the present day,

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The news of the observance of the 22nd Anniversary of A. I. D. S. O held in Calcutta on 28th December '76 will be covered in our next issue.

—Ed. P. Era.

WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

[Continued from Last Issue dated December 15, 1976]

Existence of groups is Impossible In a Communist Party

Hence, those who came out of CPI and engaged themselves with the avowed object of building up a genuine communist party, accepting the ideology of Marxism, failed to do it and reduced the party to a loose political platform of certain petty-bourgeois groups and individuals on the basis of generally accepted political and economic programme for common mass actions. This happened because, as I have already discussed, they avoided the long and complex struggle to build up—oneness in approach, uniformity of thinking, singleness of purpose and concrete conception of collective leadership, essential to build up a genuine communist party. Though they claim themselves communists, the leaders and most of the cadres of this party guide their personal life in typical individualistic manner and outlook and most of the leaders are the living symbols of ego-centricism and political careerism just like the bourgeois leaders. If you enquire, you will find that each of the leaders has his own group inside the party. So long such groups can compromise and adjust with one another the Party remains united. When that is no longer possible, the party splits giving birth to a new party. But always the leaders do it on the plea of political differences only to hide from the rank and file and the people the real cause, i.e. group squabbles and power conflict. Whether the leaders do it consciously or not is not so much important here. When the practice of individualism becomes dominant then such group-mentality, clique, coterie, squabble, power-struggle and all other vices—the most worst type of vices of bourgeois ideologies are bound to be at work inside the party.

I feel that one more serious and important point should also be discussed in this connection. In a multi-national country like ours, where nationality-complex is deep rooted among the people and which, in my opinion, would persist for a considerable time, in spite of democratic movements, individualism is not the only factor contributing to the growth of group-mentality. Besides individualism, nationality mental complex is also playing a very important role in the formation of groups inside the all-India parties of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois origins. For all these reasons ideological centralism is a must, the most essential precondition, the only guarantee for building up of unity and solidarity of the party by giving defeat to individualism and groupism.

A genuine communist party never tolerates any tendency of groupism inside the party, because groups mean parallels and existence of parallel trends of thought in it which is the characteristic feature of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. A genuine communist party, never allows such a thing. Rather, in genuine a communist party, a conscious and collective struggle to free the leaders and members from the evil influence of individualism is always to be kept living in order to eliminate the possibility of its growth in party life.

Even Nambodripad could not deny the fact that there were groups inside his party, CPI(M). In an attempt to distinguish the character of groupism between his party and that of Congress he said that groupism in the Congress was due to bickerings for power, in his party, it reflected the contradiction between different trends of thoughts. All the more good! Mr. Nambodripada was not aware that how in this attempt to defend his party, he actually gave admission to such a harsh reality that exposed the very class character of his party. Though of course, I am sure that they would not admit it, but had he a little knowledge of Marxism-Leninism it would not have been unknown to him that in a class-divided society, different trends of thinking means different class trends of thinking. True, differences on issues may of course arise, at times, even in a genuine communist party. But such a difference is a difference or contradiction of ideas, views and experiences of the individuals of the party within the frame work of the same methodological approach or trend of thinking i.e. process of thinking. But existence of such differences or contradiction within a communist



party does never mean existence of different trends of thinking. But Nambodripad holds that whatever differences they have in his party reflect different trends of thinking. That the question of different trends of thinking is directly related to the question of class methodological approach, Mr. Nambodripad is either ignorant of it or missed it altogether in his frantic bid to defend his party.

We must never forget that like a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois party, a communist party is not a mere conglomeration of individuals or groups. Lenin compared a communist party with a living organism. A communist party is not a mechanical whole but an organic whole like a human body—a monolithic organism with a centre of nerves or brain. And the brain is the centre, the guiding force of a living organism. It is the brain that guides all the limbs and the sense organs; whereas the limbs and the sense-organs, on their part, influence the functioning of the brain through various processes by their activities. So the relation of the sense organs and the limbs with the brain is dialectical. So is the organism of a communist party. In a real communist party the relationship between the leaders and the rank and file, between the central committee and other party bodies down to the cell, is just like the relation between the brain and the limbs and sense organs. Again, the different party bodies from the lowest to the highest level are not merely separate conglomeration of some leaders and workers. In their own spheres of activities these bodies have their own leaders, the centre of attraction. Now, as I have already pointed out that the collective knowledge of the party that grows and develops through the process of collective struggle between the party bodies and the leaders and cadres of the party can never be abstract but concrete: therefore he emerges as the thinker, the leader, the teacher and the guide in whom this collective knowledge of the party is concretised and personified in the best way. He is not a leader who is chosen through adjustment or compromise among the different group leaders. The leader in a real communist party emerges through the process of conscious and collective struggle to build up concrete conception of collective leadership in the party. It is to be noted that the phenomenon of leadership within a communist party is not one of parallel leaders but a phenomenon of leader of the leaders. During his lifetime, Lenin was the leader of the leaders in CPSU. He was the thinker, the leader, the teacher and guide of the party. Even when Lenin was sick and bed-ridden and Stalin was the General Secretary of the party, Lenin remained the leader and teacher of the party. Stalin, too, acknowledged it from the core of his heart. Mao Tse-Tung is the thinker and the leader of the Chinese Communist party. This is exactly what we call the true form of collective leadership or in other word the concretised expression of collective leadership. Who is that leader of leaders in any of these

so called communist parties of our country whom the members of the central committee and other leaders of the party really acknowledge as the thinker, teacher and guide of the party? In reality in these parties no body is no body's leader—all are leaders! All these leaders in these parties, have their differences with each other both on personal and ideological questions. In a situation like this, how the party bodies from the lowest to the highest one i.e. the central committee can take the form of organism? So just to meet the exigency, they somehow carry on inside the same party accepting the principle of majority-minority. And this they call, the collective leadership of the party.

A Party of one class cannot be Transformed into the Party of another class through Reforms and Rectification.

Let me now pick up another observation of one of the leaders of CPI to show the real class character of these so-called communist parties. After Joshi and Ranadive when Mr. Ajoy Ghose became the General Secretary of the party he said that his party from its very inception upto his coming to leadership failed to reflect the working class outlook. So according to his own statement, it naturally follows that working class outlook was so long absent in the very thought process of the party. No doubt, he deserves thanks for his candid confession of truth about his party! But this is just the negative aspect of the truth. What is the positive aspect of it? Any communist knows that in a class divided society, thinking means class thinking based on definite class interest. Mr. Ajoy Ghose said that his party from its very inception upto his coming to power, that is during this long period of twenty four or twenty five years, it did not reflect working class outlook in its process of thinking, meaning, therefore, that the ideology or thinking of the party was not working class ideology or working class thinking. But surely, it had not reflected any supra-class outlook which, in a class divided society, is sheer utopia. If this be the case then which class outlook Mr. Ajoy Ghose's party did reflect during these long years? If it had not reflected working class outlook then it must have reflected either bourgeois or petty-bourgeois class outlook. He had not the courage and honesty to admit this truth.

Obviously, this party reflected non-working class outlook in its process of thinking and methodology for such a long time since its birth and have formulated its political programmes either with bourgeois or with petty-bourgeois class outlook and conducted mass struggle accordingly. Despite devotion and sacrifices, how can a party conducting mass struggle on the basis of political programme formulated with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois class outlook and thought process, become a communist party at all? Does it follow then that as because a party calls itself communist, clamours about sacrifices and conduction of many mass struggles can become a communist party when it is actually guided by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois class outlook and methodology? It requires hardly any knowledge of Marxism to understand that even the bourgeois and petty bourgeois social democratic parties some times conduct mass struggles on popular issues and even at times, militant mass struggles, if need be. When this is the reality, then what relevance this confession of mistake, discussion on success or failures of these struggles has other than strengthening the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties? How does the question of transforming such a party into a genuine communist party by reforms arise at all? But strange enough, none among the cadres, even the leaders, felt the necessity of boldly placing this question before the leadership.

Not that the present leaders of CPI (M) or the Naxalite leaders were not then, in the party. They were all of them then, there, in the same party but none of them raised this question. To them, as if admission of mistakes was enough. Nobody even cared to find out the nature of the mistake—was it of fundamental nature or not. They were not interested even to understand whether this confession of mistakes proved the revolutionary character or revealed all the more the petty-bourgeois class character of the party. The leaders remained content with performing their revolutionary duties simply by confession of mistakes and talking about reforming the party and all that.

These revolutionaries (!) do not even care to know these basic class theory of Marxism that just as the state of a particular class cannot be transformed into the state of another class through reforms, so also, through reforms, the party of a particular class can never be transformed into the party of another class. Such an idea is thoroughly unscientific and unhistoric. The great genius like Karl Marx when found that the First International founded by him had degenerated into a petty-bourgeois organisation

he did not think to take the unscientific course of rectifying and reforming it but dissolved it, himself. Such is also the history of the Second International. The Second International which Lenin strived to strengthen with every drop of his blood, himself moved the resolution for its dissolution at the Zimmerwald Conference when he found it degenerated into an organisation of the National Chauvinists. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht of Germany, though accepted Lenin's first proposition defining the Second International as the organisation of National Chauvinists but could not agree, at first, to his second proposition, demanding its dissolution. They were rather in favour of keeping the Second International built through long struggles and toils and transforming it, through reforms, into a genuine working class organisation. So, Lenin alone came out of the Second International, successfully led Russian revolutionary struggles to victory and formed the Third International. Karl Liebknecht, later through practical experiences, realised the futility of reforming the Second International, came out of it and formed a new Spartacus Group in Germany. Drawing the correct lesson from the history of communist movement, we, therefore, did not adopt the unscientific course of reforming the Communist Party of India, a petty-bourgeois party in reality, to transform it into a working class party.

History of the Communist Party now formally divided into three is the history of mistakes in formulating the fundamental political line of strategy of revolution

Let us now examine one by one the main political theory of each of the three factions which they respectively claim to be correct. As for the old and undivided CPI, we have shown in our earlier writings, many a time, that whenever it formulated its political line, i.e. the strategy that guides a Party in a given period, it had always committed mistakes of fundamental nature. Even then, in order to help understand, I would place before you, without going into the details, a short outline of those discussions.

History of the Communist Party of India is the history of continuous mistakes

Perhaps many of you are aware that the Indian National Congress was not thoroughly and directly the party of the bourgeoisie as it is to-day during that period of anti-imperialist struggle when the Communist Party of India was formed. This fact was admitted even in the document of Comintern. All the political parties of India were then inside the Congress which was then more or less, like a common platform of action in the freedom struggle. At that time, therefore, there was the bright prospect of shaping out the Congress into a genuine anti-imperialist people's front by isolating the national bourgeois leadership and establishing instead, the hegemony of the working class over it and it was incumbent upon the revolutionary working class party to make continued efforts towards that end. But this so called Communist Party under the leadership of Ranadive group pursued a narrow sectarian policy, branded the whole independence struggle under the leadership of the Congress as a struggle of the reactionary bourgeoisie and thus isolated itself from the mainstream of the freedom struggle. They also disrupted the united platform of trade union movement by forming separately the Red Trade Union. So isolating themselves from the independence movement, they rather helped the national bourgeoisie in consolidating their hegemony over the entire national movement. So, by such a political stand and behaviour they not only isolated communism from the 'main current of patriotism' but also created a somewhat sceptic attitude and apprehension in the minds of majority of our patriotic people about Communism. But in 1934, they gave admission to this mistake and in the name of rectification adopted a diametrically opposite stand. The national bourgeoisie to them was reactionary in 1930 and on this plea they isolated themselves from the freedom movement led by the Congress. This very national bourgeoisie became, in 1934, not merely progressive but even revolutionary, so much so that they felt the necessity of forming a 'National Front' under the joint leadership of the working class and the bourgeoisie and thereby introduced in practice, though not formally, Plekhanov's theory of United Front discarded long before by Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that more the class-struggle sharpens, more reactionary the bourgeoisie becomes or in other words, with the passage of time the bourgeoisie as a class becomes more and more reactionary. But according to the analysis of this party, the extremely reactionary bourgeoisie of 1930 became not only progressive but also revolutionary in 1934. And this is how they corrected their mistake!

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after the second world war as the relative stability of world market disappeared completely since then.

Faced with the unprecedented crisis, the bourgeoisie is resorting more and more to fascist devices to buy time for its survival. Fascism has appeared as the universal feature in all the bourgeois countries both advanced and relatively backward ...

Centralisation in the economy, maximum concentration of political power in the state, administrative rigid firmness, cultural regimentation, deliberate destruction of even the humanist moral and ethical values and norms are the characteristic features of fascism which are clearly discernible in all the bourgeois countries. These teachings and guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat and an outstanding Marxist Philosopher and thinker of the age are of immense value to the oppressed class fighting for their emancipation in the capitalist societies.

From this broad historic perspective, it is not at all difficult to understand as to the very intent and purpose of the bourgeoisie in power, if in a bourgeois country, faced with unprecedented crisis and mounting people's discontent, it makes a definite attempt to bring about a complete negation of fundamental democratic rights and liberties of the people with the clear object of further concentration of political-administrative powers in the hands of a small coterie of bureaucrats and the politicians, then, no matter what is the pretext offered by the bourgeoisie in power, all true lovers of democracy and patriotic forces who fought for the establishment of a democratic rule in the country cannot but shudder at the prospect of seeing the country reeling under fascist rule when basic democratic rights and

values in the absence of which a polity ceases to be a civilised one, will be a thing of the past.

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And when such is the situation in any bourgeois country, the prime task before all those who really mean and genuinely stand for democratic norms and values, is to unite on the common ground and with the singularity of purpose of restoration and further extension of the democratic rights and liberties, the fascists are out to negate. All the patriotic and democratic forces should, under the circumstances, come forward to forge a broadest possible unity whereby the fascist march can definitely be stalled. But in order to make this broadest possible unity a purposive one, clarity must be there as to who are the forces from whom the danger of fascism is emanating. For the battle for restoration of civil liberties and democratic rights and for their further extension, in the given situation, is bound to be one of giving defeat to fascism. But fascism is much more dangerous than naked military rule because of its deceitful character and that is why it is all the more important to have a clear-sighted view of fascism to all those who join the battle for restoration and further extension of democratic rights and civil liberties. And without knowing one's enemy one cannot fight it. In order to give defeat to fascism therefore, we are to take help and guidance from the invaluable teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our great departed leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist Philosopher and thinker of the era.

The Menace of Fascism

One of the most outstanding contributions to world proletarian movement made by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our great departed leader and teacher

is to lay bare fascism in all its aspects by a thorough integrated and in-depth study, showing the roots of fascism in economic, political, cultural, ethical and philosophical fields, without a thorough grasp of which, it is well-nigh impossible to steer clear people's movement of both kinds of deviation—revisionism-opportunism and left sectarianism. What is of utmost importance and relevance here, is to remember and grasp his great teaching that: "Fascism always and everywhere adopts a dual policy of suppression and persuasion. In the beginning, in its attempt to entrench in the national life firmly...its aim is not so much to ruthlessly suppress the mass force as to win it over to its side as volunteers, willing to carry out fascist plans and programmes for national reconstruction. Without a co-operating mass force at its back, fascism can hardly hold its sway. Fascism, therefore, adopts social-democratic plans, programmes, grants, minor economic concessions to the people, tries to control anarchy in capitalist economy and insecurity in life flowing therefrom like unemployment etc. and in its drive to save the aggregate interests of the capitalist class, it even imposes restriction on individual capitalists and their freedom of anarchical production. In short, a fascist state takes the position of a so-called bourgeois welfare state."

It is also the invaluable guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that as fascism strives to achieve national unity under cover of pseudo-progressive slogans in favour of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat and in fact is nothing but a counter-revolutionary upsurge, it cannot be accomplished by the conservative section of the bourgeoisie. It can only be accomplished by the so-called radical section of

the bourgeoisie who because of their link in the past with social democratic movement or even with communist schooling, pressed by the overall crisis, has shrewdly understood that it is no longer possible to preserve the capitalist exploitative system with traditional method and democratic apparatus relying entirely on the coercive instruments against the surging tide of people's discontent and urge for change. So, the natural bent of mind of this so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie is "to strive for repatterning bourgeois democratic system and the administrative set up in such a way as to get it look like something radical in order to cope up with the situation." Comrade Ghosh's another very important teaching that can be recalled in this connection and which gets vindicated again and again by recent experiences is that: "Fascism may take the deceptive look by keeping alive parliament and allowing other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties to give the appearance of bourgeois democracy." That is to say, there is no uniform pattern for fascist rule—somewhere it may be through a military junta and somewhere it may be even through two party system.

Different Marxist circles and the intellectuals having identified fascism with the experiences of Germany or Italy show their utter confusion when they raise alarm against one-party rule in any bourgeois country, never caring for a moment to ponder that for fascist rule, even the two-party form cannot be an obstacle rather it is of great advantage to the fascists in so far as it provides an opportunity to confuse the political circles and the masses within the country and the world opinion outside. This great teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is of immense importance in the present time for all

those who want to stand against fascism.

When, therefore, in a capitalist country, the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie under cover of pseudo-progressive slogans and invoking people's welfare so pattern the constitution and the administrative structure that the bourgeois democratic rights, liberties and freedoms, so long guaranteed at least in writing by the constitution, become totally non-existent, when the workers, peasants and other toiling sections of the people are divested of their right even to move the court to seek redress of their grievances against their exploiters let alone the right to organise legitimate democratic movements, when the nationalist political parties in the opposition in bourgeois parliamentary politics are to live on the grace of the ruling bourgeois party, a situation definitely arises for all these parties and oppressed masses to find amongst them a common ground to stand united for a common purpose of restoration of democratic rights and liberties against the main enemy which is in power and poses the fascist danger.

In a concrete situation like this, the proletariat and its party being the most consistent force for advancing the cause of emancipation of the masses from all sorts of exploitation of man by man, must take the positive and active role in organising broadest section of the people for practical mass initiative. This involves very many complexities flowing from various limitations, instability and vacillations of the heterogeneous forces joining in this broadest combination of common struggle. But the proletariat and its party being well-aware of the fact that the battle for preservation and extension of liberties and democratic rights, which have been the first casualty of fascist offensives, has taken the pivotal role in as much as even the

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possibility of organising and developing the partial and general struggles of the oppressed masses against the bourgeois offensives hinge wholly on the success or headway of the former. The battle for liberty and democratic rights has therefore, assumed paramount importance and has got the very political character of saving the country from going under fascist rule which the bourgeoisie is out to foist on the masses. The gravity of the danger and the dimension of the problem demand broadest combination of forces and require of the true revolutionaries, judicious application of all the contradictions and conflicts within the enemy camp, to proper use. For, they cannot for a moment forget the very important guidance imparted to them by Lenin, the great teacher of the proletariat when he taught:

"The differences that exist between the Churchills (leader of the Conservative Party in Great Britain—Writer) and the Lloyd Georges (leader of the Liberal Party in Great Britain—Writer) with the insignificant national distinctions, these political types exist in all the countries, on the one hand, and between the Hendersons (Social-chauvinist Labour Party leader of Great Britain) and the Lloyd Georges on the other quite minor and unimportant from the stand point of pure (that is abstract) communism, i.e. communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical mass, political action. But from the stand point of this practical action by the masses these differences are very, very important. To take account of these differences, to determine the moment when the inevitable conflicts between these 'friends' which weaken and enfeeble all the 'friends' taken together will have completely matured, that is the whole concern, the whole task of the Communist who wants to be not merely a class-conscious and convinced propagandist of ideas, but practical

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leader of the masses in the revolution."

—(Lenin—"Left-wing Communism" An Infantile Disorder)

The revolutionaries must note, therefore, that in such a situation even the bourgeois parties representing the conservative section of the bourgeoisie, who stand for individual monopoly rights, who are for retention of bourgeois Parliamentary institutions and rights—even these parties, usually designated as rightist parties also feel the necessity of fighting for restoration of democratic rights and freedoms in absence of which their fate is sealed in the parliamentary politics wherein they pin their all faith.

Now the moot question is what should be the approach and attitude of a real revolutionary party of the proletariat in such a concrete situation. Should it stand in isolation as idle sight-seer to keep its so-called 'purity'? Should it wait for the good days to come, knowing well, however, that good days do not fall from heaven but are to be won? Should it be guided by pragmatic consideration by entering into unprincipled alliance, covert or overt with the main enemy who poses fascist threat or this force or that force?

In order to have a clear understanding about this all important question we are to recall the great teachings and invaluable guidance left to us by our great departed leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Ghosh has imparted to us the scientific understanding about the dialectical law of development of society wherefrom we know that the battle for the emancipation of the oppressed people can be led to its destined goal only after exhausting the phase of democratic struggle in the bourgeois society. Till that time, the oppressed people under the leadership of the real revolutionary party must fight to defend and try to

extend the democratic rights, freedoms and liberties that were once won through struggles. And it will be an unpardonable offence to let down, under whatever pretext, this fight for preservation and extension of democratic rights and liberties, for all those who swear by Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Ghosh has also taught us that in this solemn task of defending and extending democratic rights, the revolutionary party is guided neither by any pragmatic consideration nor by any sense of untouchability but it must act in response to and in recognition of the objective social necessity and the supreme need of the hour. It is, therefore, the bounden duty for the revolutionary party to study deeply which among so many contradictions obtaining in a society at a given moment is the major contradiction, how best to handle that contradiction taking every advantage of contradiction within the contradiction between the main enemy and the others having the sole objective of advancing the cause of the proletariat.

So, even in the darkest hour the revolutionaries do not and cannot lose heart, cannot remain idle suffering from puritanism. For, they know that on them lies the historic responsibility and solemn task of leading the struggle of the oppressed people amidst twists and turns. The revolutionaries are also aware that the show of might that the bourgeoisie in power is exhibiting is to hide its inherent weakness. And when the people are united on correct base political line and is led by a real revolutionary party, they can sweep clean the obstacles the bourgeoisie are labouriously constructing to block their onward march. But the revolutionaries are also aware of the complexities in their struggle and would call upon the people to be properly appraised of these complexities. The

revolutionaries are well aware of the declared stand and political objective of the opposition bourgeois parties. These parties want to play their role within the bounds of bourgeois parliamentary politics and stand for preservation of the present productive system. They do not hide their faith that it is through the bourgeois parliamentary institutions and the present productive system that people's welfare can be meted out. But nonetheless it is a fact that these parties do not pose immediate danger when the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie in power taking recourse to fascist path is definitely trying for a total extinction of bourgeois democratic rights. Rather, these rightist parties have a role and they actually play the role against the main enemy and the immediate threat it poses. And in the given situation, the proletariat and other sections of the toiling people being the most consistent and steadfast force, at least find a meeting ground with these forces in so far as and to the extent they are ready to fight the enemy number one, for restoration and further extension of democratic rights.

The revolutionaries are not guided by any sense of untouchability or inhibition. For, examples of correct application of tactical approach are not wanting in history. Who can forget the brilliant application of this tactical approach by the Chinese Comrades when they handled the contradiction between Japanese imperialism and Chiang's forces even though they had already been engaged in a life and death struggle with Chiang and his forces? Even though without overthrowing Chiang and his forces the Chinese revolution could not succeed, the CPC leadership rightly placed this enemy to secondary position, judged in the concrete background of Jap invasion which

appeared as the main enemy of the entire Chinese people. Comrade Stalin followed the same tactical approach with success in dealing either with the western imperialist powers or Hitler's Germany whenever either of the two appeared as the major contradiction or the main enemy. Such examples can be multiplied.

So, the revolutionaries know that in a given situation there may be more than one enemy but amongst them one is the principal enemy in the concrete context of a political situation. As all the enemies cannot be fought at a time and as the principal enemy poses the immediate and main danger, it has always been the sound tactics to sort out the principal enemy and the major contradiction and to unite all those who can be united against this main enemy, applying the contradiction between the enemies to proper use. Not to follow this sound tactics is to be a victim of left sectarianism by allowing reserves and elbow-room to manoeuvre by the main enemy.

Taking into proper account of all the complexities that the battle against fascism unfolds and guided by the invaluable teachings and guidance of the great teachers of the proletariat and the very good examples of successful handling of the contradictions amidst very many complexities in the battle by the revolutionary compatriots of the other parts of the globe, the revolutionary party would call upon the people to grasp firmly the main content of the struggle of the given moment and do their utmost to strengthen it. For, it is on their taking the very active and courageous initiative that the battle against fascism depends very much for having a widest possible base and desired momentum without which it cannot succeed. The people will have, therefore, to be wide awake to any sectarian move to restrict this struggle within narrow bounds. But if

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The country is said to have been passing through a spell of discipline. Discipline in all spheres—the workers have no claim over bonus, so long accepted as their deferred wage, the index numbers are falling although people have a different experience about the trend in the market, the wage-earners, more particularly in the Jute, Textile, Steel, Automobile, Wagon-Building and other Engineering industries are losing their jobs because of closure, lock-out and lay-offs. And this is going on despite very many fiscal and other concessions that the industrialists are having from the government. In order to have the whole truth, let us, arrange the facts from what are coming out in the press even in the changed context.

The Reserve Bank Bulletin of July 1976 reports about increase in profitability of 387 Top size companies. The report says that in 1974-75, the 387 companies in the top three paid up capital ranges recorded an increase of 27.2% in sales, 30% in value, and 43.3% in pre-tax profits as against 26.5%, 28.9% and 36.8% respectively in the last year. In concrete terms, the pre-tax profits of these companies rose at Rs. 1069 crores from Rs. 785 crores in the previous year. The report further says that the number of companies reporting operating profits before tax, rose from 1301 to 1323 crores. The report notes that inventory accumulation has been at a higher rate in as much as 35.8% in the higher and 19.2% in the lower. According to the report, companies in all the groups excepting two, relied more on external sources or funds for financing their assets formation. —The Economic Times, October 13.

The Economic Times reports on 15th thus:

A Review of the response to various government steps and their impact on investment climate in private sector shows approval of capital issues to non-government companies by the Controller of capital issued in 1975-76, amounts to 293.54 crores as against Rs. 198.90 crores i.e. a rise of Rs 95 crores. But the paid-up capital of these companies rose to Rs. 169.60 crores from Rs. 162.62 crores i.e. an increase of Rs. 7 crores only.

Fresh capital raised from the market amounted to Rs.21 crores only in July-September quarter, lower than in the earlier quarter. But even for this meagre amount, but for the issue of debentures by I.C.I.C.I. the capital issues during the period would have been in a heavy crash down.

The liberalisation of the dividend rules and regulations has improved the quarterly bonus issues. However, bonus issues do not add up to fresh investment, as what is involved is only a book transfer within broad framework of corporate equity.

The interesting point to be noted is that government review hopes that this uptrend in investment climate will be maintained. It has after that given a long list of the financial assistances given by the different government financial institutions.

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India contributed Rs.52.56 in 1975-76 as against Rs.29.24 crores, last year. The Industrial Credit and Investment Centre of India sanctioned Rs 78.55 crores as against Rs 62.86 crores, last year. Another government agency, IDBI sanctioned Rs.261.01 crores in 1975-76 as against Rs 223.83 crores last year. ... despite ... benefit ... the capitalist class, there has not been any appreciable improvement in investment of capital ... the industrialist monopolists have tremendously benefitted at the expense

of the toiling people ... Business Standard reports that speaking at the Andhra Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy pointed out that if the nation had some benefit out of the Emergency, industry and trade have certainly benefitted—"to such an extent that there has been criticism that they were having their way regarding labour."

Now, we have seen from the data supplied by the government that despite bounties of government assistances to the industry, it is still languishing and there is hardly any steady urge for fresh capital investment in the market. A recessionary trend is distinctly discernible. Writing on the Steel industry, Mr. K. Choudhury, in the Economic and Political Weekly in its issue of October 9, 1976, shows the alarming proportion of the problems that besets this vital sector of the industry. Let us see what are they.

"The Steel Industry is in complete disarray. Over Rs.400 crores are blocked in unsold stocks and the Steel Authority of India (SAIL) is trying to find a solution to the problem through exports at a heavy loss.

Wide publicity has been given to the claim that India has emerged as an exporter of steel, creating the impression that the country has become self-reliant in steel. That does not fit in with the reality. The continuing recession in industry and persistent low levels of investment have depressed the domestic demand for steel. The government withdrew distribution controls on all varieties of steel, except plates and forging with effect from May 1975. But even this did not help boost demand. This is why we have become exporters even though our production of steel is abysmal compared with that of the advanced countries. The cost of production of Indian steel

ranges from Rs.1500 to Rs.1800 a tonne. Against this, Indian steel has been recently exported at \$ 150, i.e. Rs.1,264, a tonne. SAIL has secured order to West Asia at \$ 170 i.e. Rs.1356, a tonne which is still below the cost of production. The subsidy on export of steel in 1976-77 has been estimated at Rs.80 crores. While Indian steel is being exported to other countries at throw away prices, its price in the internal market has been increased thrice during the last two years."

Summarising the position of engineering industry, the report on Currency and Finance for 1974-75 published by the Reserve Bank of India states:

"The increase permitted by the government in the price of the finished steel in August and again in September 1974 as well as the general decline in investment outlays by the government had, however, contributed to the decline in output of heavy mechanical engineering units. The demand for steel is depressed because of recession and the rise of prices."

The writer continues: Production of steel in 1975-76 has been estimated at 5.7 metric tonnes. A sizable portion of it is lying unsold in the stock yards of the steel plants. Besides, there are also unused steel ingots lying at Durgapur and Rourkela steel plants. The value of unsold and unused pig iron at different stock yards in the country may be anywhere between Rs. 50 crores and Rs. 110 crores. The capital blocked in accumulation of unsold steel as on March 31, 1976 has been estimated at about Rs. 400 crores. Some of the major engineering units including Hindustan Motors, Telco and Texmaco are understood to have drastically reduced their order for steel. Metal Box has informed SAIL that its maximum quarterly requirement of steel may be only one-third of the quantity procured last year.

"The Wagon-building industry is one of the biggest consumers of steel, but production in this industry has now reached the lowest ebb. The Metropolitan Transport Project, the proposed underground railway for Calcutta was expected to procure 150,000 tonnes, whereas it has actually procured only 15,000 tonnes.

"The procurement of steel for the Second Hooghly Bridge in Calcutta should have been 50,000 to 60,000 tonnes, but till now no indent has been placed. The Bhatinda Project in Punjab, which would require about 50,000 tonnes of steel has virtually come to a stop. The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority has also drastically curtailed its steel requirement. These are few examples.

"The mini steel plants in the country numbering 242 will not be able to utilise more than 50% of their capacity on average. The skelp mill of Durgapur Steel plant has been severely affected due to stoppage of orders.....

"The mess in Steel Industry, arising out of large accumulation of unsold stocks and tremendous drain through subsidised export, would soon have its impact on the steel industry and on the country. The government and the SAIL authorities may be compelled to take measures which will inevitably hit steel workers, their earnings and employment. In TISCO about 1000 workers were retrenched sometime back. This may be an indication of what is more to come in steel industry".

So, this is a graphic picture of a vital sector of industry. But the position will be more clear if we have a look in the alarming increase in closure, lock-out and lay-off figures that even put the government in a not-to-a-happy position. In the recent State Labour

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Ministers' Conference held in New Delhi, the Union Labour Secretary, Dr. A. N. Agha has presented a disquieting picture about the increasing number of closures and lock-outs in industrial establishments. It was stated that there had been no major strike anywhere in Central or State spheres. On the other hand there had been increasing number of retrenchments particularly in private sector in the State sphere.

While the percentage of man-days lost due to strike was reduced to 35% in the latter half of 1975 from 86% in the first half, figures were in the reverse in the case of lock-outs increasing from 14% to 65% in the same period. The trend is continuing in the current year. While the percentage of man-days lost owing to strike reduced steeply and continuously from 43% in January 1976 to a bare minimum of 4%, in July 1976, the percentage of man-days lost due to lock-outs rose from 57% to 96% in July '76. The number of workers laid off during June '76 were 6.96 lakhs and those retrenched were 0.23 lakhs and those affected by closures were 1.05 lakhs. There were reports that with a view to avoiding the provisions of the amended Industrial Dispute Acts according to which prior permission of the government is required before lay-off and closure to and/or retrenchments of workers, the employers were taking recourse to large scale lock-outs, "though it would appear, those were cases of closures".

—Report in the Economic Times.

So in Jute industry alone more than 60 000 workers have lost their jobs due to closure of mills, reduction in working hours by four hours a week, besides restriction on electricity imposed by the state government earlier. As a result production has gone down by 85 to 87 thousand tonnes a month from an average production of 105 to 110 thousand tonnes a month. Productive capacity, considerably has

gone down also. And this is to be judged in view of continuously increasing unemployment in the country. A recent study of the Reserve Bank of India shows extremely slow pace of employment creation in the organised sector which includes plantation, mines, factories, trading, administration etc. carried along modern lines.

While the labour forces in these areas expanded from 12.1 million in 1961-62 to 16.2 millions in 1965 or by 6% per annum, in next 7 years, it rose to only 18.8 million in 1973 or by 2.2% per annum.

The growth in the first five years was 4.1 million as against 2.6 million in the next 7 years. Urban unemployment has been growing at an alarming rate in recent years. The number according to Employment Exchange data stood at 3.00 millions at the end of 1968, rose to 4.1 million in 1970, 8.4 million in 1974 and 9.3 millions in November 1975. Mr. S. K. Rao estimates that in 1960 nearly 23% of the potential labour force in rural India remained inactive for want of jobs. Mr. A. K. Sen put the number of unemployed according to production approach at over 42 millions; full-time jobs could be created to this extent within or outside villages without affecting the volume of agricultural production. The position has further worsened since then.....

—Frontier, October '30.

This is one aspect of the picture. Let us see the other side of the shield. Commenting and analysing on the rich profits earned by the monopolists and business community, on which the Reserve Bank of India has made a study, Blitz has the following to say:

"Dividends declared by public limited companies soared dramatically in 1975-76 to Rs. 12,389.5 lakhs compared with Rs. 9,326.8 lakhs in 1974-75, an increase of Rs. 3,062.7 lakhs. When all sections of the community tightened

their belts during emergency the affluent corporate sector gleaned more and more profits. The ECONOMIC TIMES study of 394 public limited companies in the private sector shows the affluent always make hay, be it rain or sunshine.....

For every rupee that is distributed as dividend, at least another rupee or two is slashed away as reserves. After distributing a mammoth Rs. 12,389.5 lakhs as dividends, a like amount must have been kept.....

The study shows that as many as 211 companies in 1975-76 raised their dividends, while 98 maintained them which means 80% of the corporate sector units did not feel the need to reducing the dividends during 1975-76 when workers lost a portion or the whole of their bonus or additional D. A. and wage increases were impounded as deposits with the government.

A princely fortune of Rs. 100 crores, is likely to flow as tax-free bonus share to the pampered elites of India during 1976.

The Economic Times which has made the above estimate after the government's removal of curbs on bonus shares, has shown that the reserves of companies is bulging. When profits increase and dividends flow freely, a portion is taken away as reserves and released as tax-free gift shares at a future date.

Out of 201 giant companies in the private corporate sector as many as 65 had reserves greater than their equity capital.

The bonanza of bonus share has been increasing all through the Seventies when companies made more and more profits. Bonus issues during 1970-72 averaged Rs. 36 crores. In 1973, there was a big jump to Rs. 51 crores and to Rs. 70 crores in 1974. During 1975 the Economic Times estimated that bonus issues exceeded Rs. 70 crores and will hit Rs. 100 crores in 1976.

—Blitz October 9, '76.

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Now what about the various reforms in the rural sector that are being so much talked about in the country? Let us see some of the facts that are coming out from the pages of newspapers.

In West Bengal, a Legislative Sub-Committee after enquiry admitted that out of thirty lakhs of Bargadars in the state, approximately only six lakhs could record their rights in revisional settlements that have been going on for years in the state. Reviewing the overall performance even after the Emergency, from the admissions or confessions of the various state governments, the Economic Times wrote editorially on 14th October, thus:

"Implementing of ceiling laws, the cornerstone of the package programme of land reforms, continues to be hampered by the lack of up-to-date records of rights in most states. This situation necessitates dependence on returns submitted by the landlords themselves. It leaves open full scope for concealment not only of vast portions of land but also of the existence of tenants or share croppers. At the same time, opportunities are provided for court injunctions. In Andhra Pradesh, for instance, a meeting of the State level review committee revealed, late as the middle of last month that out of 357,000 acres officially declared surplus 317,000 acres are still under litigation. An official review of the progress of bringing land records up-to-date indicates very little changes in the erstwhile permanently settled areas, such as West Bengal, Orissa and Assam.....

"In the ryotwary areas where there were already provisions for updating of records regularly, some progress has been made. A common aspect of both types of land ownership areas, however, is lack of adequate success in recording the rights of tenants or share-croppers. According

to the official survey, Andhra Pradesh will take two years to complete the work and West Bengal five years. A revision of records of rights has been completed in only two out of thirteen districts in Orissa, four of thirty one of Bihar...Reports of recording tenants and sub tenants are said to have been completed in Gujrat, Tamil Nadu and Assam. But although in Tamil Nadu share cropping is fairly prevalent, reports cover only five percent of the total cultivated areas."

Now even if the said land forms which hinge only on distribution of surplus lands, according to new revised ceilings, are done, what will be their impact on the land-holding structure?

About the land reforms the following data, quoted by a writer in the MAINSTREAM (14 Annual Number) will make the picture clear.

"...land that has so far been distributed by acquiring through imposition of ceilings the old and revised, amount so far 1,275 000 acres and 850,000 respectively, together totalling to 2,125,000 acres. The total come to less than 0.5% of total operational area in the country. Compared to that, the amount distributed from the land vested from the holders of the intermediary interests in land would be a little more significant which was roughly 15 million acres of waste land.

According to the All-India Report of Agricultural Census, 1970-71, 50% of the holdings were below one hectare which accounted for only 90% of the area and on the other pole holding above 10 hectares accounting for 4% of the total, had under them 30% of the operational area.....

...That the new revised ceilings with its contribution of 8.5 lakhs acres of land to the landless or marginal farmers will hardly improve the situation is quite obvious."

We have, here placed all the data supplied by the (Contd. to Page 8)

The Two Can Never Meet CIVIL LIBERTIES AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

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government and published in the newspapers and journals. They show that despite Government's claims, the basic malady of the capitalist productive system has not changed a bit. So from all these facts, it is quite obvious that there cannot be anything in a class divided society like ours which can be good for all the classes. The very motive force of production in a capitalist society is to earn maximum profit by exploiting the working people whereas the working people's struggle is to free themselves from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. And so long this capitalist productive system with capitalist-worker relation of production remain in tact, no amount of pious wishes and exhortations or sermons of the leaders can alter this basic reality.

Another important lesson is to be derived from the present experience. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, and teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker and Philosopher of the era has again and again drawn our attention to this truth that is now obvious in the context of the experiences once more. The truth is that, capitalism of the present era is moribund and is now passing through its third phase of intense crisis which is overall crisis. Since the last world war, the world capitalist market has lost the relative stability of market that once it enjoyed despite crisis suffered intermittently. Because of this basic reason, not to speak of the relatively less developed ... country like India even the most advanced capitalist countries are in the midst of a severe crisis. In such a situation the capitalist countries, irrespective of whether developed or relatively under-developed, all are taking recourse to fascist

devices to stave off the severe crisis. This is the important teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Faced with severe crisis, the bourgeoisie is revealing its utter failure to solve the basic causes of the crisis within their own system of capitalism. Taking leaf from the experiments already done in the West European countries, the bourgeois politicians are introducing iron rules and regimentation to lace the surging tide of the oppressed people's struggles. These iron rules and regimentations are finding expressions in more and more curbing of democratic rights in the bourgeois sense of the term, further concentration of powers—administrative, political, economic all at a time under cover of social-democratic phrase-mongering. The bourgeois politicians are thinking that by this they can create a situation where the capitalist class will be absolutely free from even the minimum resistance that the working people can offer in the present set up. And the capitalists will by this be encouraged to invest more and there will be more employment opportunities opened up and the problems can be eased. Experience is the best teacher, it is said. What is the bare experience, today? Does investment increase despite bounties of fiscal concessions and the very congenial climate that the capitalists are at present enjoying?

The basic truth about capitalist productive system cannot be wished away, rather it is asserting itself from the reverse side. The capitalist market is severely under recessionary strain. There is inventory accumulation, glut of commodities for want of buyers. No amount of wishful thinking can salvage.

The interests of the oppressed toiling people cannot, therefore, coincide with those of their

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anybody thinks that striving to give this combination broadest possible mass base is something synonymous with the apolitical character of this very combination, he will surely be wrong. The Combination of this broadest possible forces has got before it as the common objectives of giving defeat to fascism and so it has got definitely a political objective which cannot be lost sight of. In absence of this clear objective before the masses, the very purpose and object of this combination will be frustrated and the combination will lose its direction.

By this, it cannot be construed either that all

Country Recalls the Great Teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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with this revolutionary concept of life as the cornerstone of his struggles, he appeared before the oppressed masses as a living symbol of revolutionary ideology and an undying source of inspiration. It was he, who, for the first time upheld with utmost importance that a nation can withstand all adversities and oppression and raise itself, if it stands upon moral strength. Thus, he said that every mass movement must be founded on a strong basis of high ethical and cultural values.

exploiters. The two can never meet.

The toiling people are to draw therefore, the correct lesson. This correct lesson is provided by history. It is only by bringing a thorough and complete end of the present bourgeois productive system by ...

... that they can emancipate them as a class as also the entire society. This is the truth and whoever talks otherwise does so to hide the truth and is on the side of the exploiters.

the parties and forces joining the common struggle will fight amongst themselves for putting to the fore their respective viewpoints or sectarian party interest. This will definitely disturb the unity of understanding reached on the commonness of the purpose of all those who join the struggle. What is, therefore, of great importance is to maintain the solidarity and cohesion of all these parties and forces, in the day-to-day functioning. This is what the masses expect and will be of great encouragement to them.

The revolutionaries thought and trained by the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade

Shibdas Ghosh, cannot lose heart, cannot fear the very many complexities in their struggle. For, they have learnt that by practical handling of the complexities in battles, moving appropriately with the zigzags, twists and turns and ups and downs of the struggle they become more seasoned and worthy vanguards of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. The banner they carry gives them strength. The practice of invaluable lessons they have inherited from their great departed leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh make them invincible. The goal they have set before them is the irrevocable course of history.

In concluding his address, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee said that though our beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is no more with us, he is still very much alive in our midst through the invaluable revolutionary teachings which will constantly guide us in all our struggles. Apart from the rich treasure of revolutionary knowledge, comrade Ghosh has also left behind a band of professional revolutionaries who are engaged in the struggle for complete identification of personal life with the party and of revolution. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

has built up, brick by brick, all that is necessary for a successful revolution in our country, namely, the revolutionary party and revolutionary leadership. To-day, our only great struggle would be to cultivate and grasp his revolutionary teachings and muster all our resources to achieve the glorious end of establishing on our soil a society free of oppression—the society of the proletariat. And thus alone can we offer our truly respectful homage to the memory of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

The question of extending excise duty relief to the Textile industry for higher production is under consideration.

—The Economic Times 15.8.76.

The Union Government to-day announced further liberalisation of policy regarding capacity utilisation to ensure maximum production and fuller uti-

lisation of capacity already installed in the country.

—Financial Express, Sept. 10. '76

Government of India has decided to sanction central capital subsidy upto Rs. 15 lakhs even in those cases where project cost is more than Re. 1 crore, says Samachar.

—Business Standard, September 13, '76

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Edited & Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48, Lenin Sarani and Printed by him at Ganadabi Printers & Publishers Private Limited, 52B, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-13.